LABOUR MONTHLY

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A PROGRAMME FOR MANKIND
R. Palme Dutt

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JOHN NEWTON
on the Great Tragedy

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F. S. WINCHESTER
Wages, Work and Organisation

*

LIGHT ON CENTRAL AFRICA
D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

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Other items include - Francis Bacon, 1561-1626
Aden and oil - Atrocity Stories exposed
Art no luxury

JANUARY · 1961

One Shilling and Sixpence

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HERE'S TAE US!

AS THE SCOTS SAY: *Here's tae us! Wha's like us? Michty few!* Here we are in black and white, our sleeves rolled up, fighting fit and ready to go into our fortieth year of publication. Like the human frame we may put on weight with advancing years, yet unlike it we become stronger and—we hope—no less quick off the mark. But all whose main ambition in life is to play a part in the liberation of mankind from the fetters of class society, can greet each New Year eagerly and with confidence, whatever its dangers and difficulties, knowing it to be one nearer socialism and lasting peace all over the world. Particularly we greet today those who have read the magazine from its first number in 1921. Of these I think of two who are typical. The first is in Japan, where he has survived bombing, prison and illegality to play a leading part today in the labour movement of his country. The second lives in Essex: a glass-blower by trade when he read our first number in July, 1921, he is today as active in his 'retirement' as any young fellow you could name, and the champion seller of pamphlets and political periodicals, not least L.M. Always on the spot, explaining, persuading and convincing, he uses it to continue the job for him as he moves to the next corner. Let these two stalwarts accept our congratulations on behalf of all.

How do we propose to celebrate forty years of continuous publication under the same title, the same editor and with the same principles? Amongst the interesting projects that have been put forward are these, in one or more of which we hope that every reader will be able to share:

1. We propose to publish pen-pictures of *a history of our times:* a history of L.M. (so far as the full story can yet be told!). At the time of our twentieth birthday, there was an outline called *Forging the Weapon*, written by R. Page Arnot, uniquely qualified to do so, as co-founder of the magazine, on its Editorial Board from the beginning and the author of outstanding trade union histories. But being published under wartime conditions, it had to be very compact, and has long been out of print.

2. We hope too to produce *a travelling exhibition,* reflecting the struggles of these times, which will include some historic items. (Imagine the manuscripts and correspondence we have from just about every Socialist and trade union leader of standing in Britain and the world.)

3. We shall be holding *a Birthday Party* in London on June 15, about which more details later. But book the date *now.*

4. We shall hold a competition for the best short contribution on the subject of *the role of socialist journalism.*

5. We are opening a special *Birthday Appeal,* so that readers can play a part with us in supporting these projects by money and messages.

A passing reference to our fortieth anniversary last month has already brought us letters, presents and promises (and with each post our mantelpiece gets more decorated). Whilst it is generally our faithful regular fund supporters adding to their 'usual', yet there is also the welcome sign of new regulars and collecting groups, like this cheerful trio from *Middlesex:* 'Here's a shilling postal order from Michael. Percy and Judy, to make a start in our Kick-the-Tories-Out Campaign. We're avid readers and derive great enjoyment from it. Free Speech for All! We hope to make this regular and are looking forward to the New

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Notes of the Month

A PROGRAMME FOR MANKIND

There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

(Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, November, 1960.)

WHAT is the outlook for 1961? At the close of the past year a new document appeared which is likely to prove of long-term significance. The Declaration of the Conference of eighty-one Communist and Workers' Parties, drawn up after three weeks of intensive discussions, and embodying finally unanimous conclusions, has won universal attention also in quarters far removed from communism. Why is this? There was of course a preceding speculative interest on the part of those who counted on dissension. But these speculations were defeated by the outcome; yet the interest is far greater and more attentive since the outcome. Why then? It is undoubtedly true that a Declaration of an organised political movement of thirty-six million members, with strong foundations in every continent and region, and with parties governing one-third of the world, is inevitably an event of a political magnitude none can ignore. But there is more than that. It is also the content of the document.

By friend and foe alike this Declaration has been recognised as a serious and sincere

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attempt to grapple in a realist and constructive spirit with the problems of the modern world. There is no glossing over the ugly features and grave dangers of the world today. Equally there is no surrender to the nightmare fears, panic, pessimism and general scepticism and irrationalism of the world that is dying. With the clear, calm confidence of the voice of the advancing majority of mankind, of theory combined with practice, this document measures the ground won and charts the path for the future.

Changing the World

This Declaration is not merely a programme for Communist Parties and the working class movement. It is a programme for the future of mankind. Everywhere the response has been immediate. Here in Britain, within two days of publication, a resolution specifically welcoming its perspective for peaceful co-existence has been tabled in parliament by over fifty Labour M.P.s, including the Chairman of the Labour Party and members of the Labour Party Executive. This is only a symptom of what will develop in varying forms and fashions in all countries. This Declaration is not only a political analysis. It is not only a guide to action. It is also itself an active agent to change the world.

Three Communist Manifestos

In some quarters this Declaration has been described as the 'New Communist Manifesto'. If such terms were to be used, it would be profitable to consider the conditions of the original exemplar and today. For in fact it might be said that three Communist Manifestos have marked the three decisive epochs of the modern world. One hundred and twelve years ago the original *Manifesto of the Communist Party* heralded the birth of modern communism and of the international communist movement. Only groups represented that old international Communist League of the eighteen forties in a handful of countries in Europe. But the vision spanned all history from the first genesis of class society to the future victory of communism throughout the world. Sixty-one years later the second Communist Manifesto of the newly founded Communist International in 1919 heralded the opening of the world socialist revolution and the foundation of the modern Communist Parties. 'A new epoch is born', declared that second Manifesto: 'the epoch of the dissolution of capitalism, of its inner disintegration; the epoch of the

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communist revolution of the proletariat'. Today, forty-one years later, the new Communist Manifesto (confirming and carrying forward the declaration of 1957), signed by the eighty-one Communist Parties now representing the strongest international political force history has known, heralds the epoch of the extending victory of socialism over the world, when 'the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society'. A progress of 112 years without parallel, in which theory and practice have marched hand in hand.

Forty Years On

We are entering a year of great events and great decisions. It so happens that this coming year is the year of the fortieth anniversary of the publication of our journal. If in the increasingly severe economic conditions for the solvency of an independent unsubsidised periodical we succeed in surviving until July, we shall have completed forty years of uninterrupted publication—an unusual record for a socialist journal. The transformation of the world during these forty years is the answer to all pessimists. In those early years we had to write of Black Friday in Britain (1921); Famine in Russia (1921); the emergence of the Fascisti bands in Italy (1922); the emergence of Nazism in Germany (January, 1923). Today Communism rules directly one-third of the world, carrying forward or completing the construction of socialism, or in the most developed sector advancing from socialism to communism, and in sphere after sphere conspicuously outstripping the levels of the non-communist world; while in the remainder of the world the conditions are manifestly gathering for the transition to socialism.

Confidence in the Future

There are still severe struggles in front. The menace of nuclear war has still to be banished. The crimes of imperialism, as in the Congo, still dog the liberation advance of the peoples. Economic insecurity still plagues the workers of the West. But the balance has changed irreversibly. The world system of socialist states and the world communist movement, together with the mass organisations of the working class, the advancing peoples and states of national liberation and the world peace movement, all gradually drawing closer together in common understanding and co-operation for common objectives, represent the future. Hence the steady level-

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headed confidence which has above all struck all observers as the keynote of this document.

New Light on the Modern World

What is the picture of the world which this Declaration presents? As every serious programme must, it builds on the firm foundation, not of general ideas and aspirations in the air (after the fashion of Mr. Gaitskell and the 'idealist' school painting their 'ideals' in rosy hues to cover their practical flunkeydom to Mammon and Mars), but of the concrete realities and moving forces of the modern world, of classes and peoples in struggle—specifically of capitalism today and of socialism today.

Modern Capitalism

Is capitalism changed from the time of Marx or from the time of Lenin? Certainly. But not in the direction which the apostles of the 'new capitalism' seek to proclaim. The theorists of the 'new capitalism', which is supposed to have reversed the operation of the laws of motion laid bare by Marx in relation to pre-monopoly capitalism or by Lenin in relation to monopoly capitalism, follow one or other of two main schools, or a combination of both, in a hundred varieties and forms. The first school proclaims that modern capitalism has evolved new techniques (whether Keynesian or the like, credit manipulation, pump-priming, deficit budgets, public capital expenditure or other 'built-in stabilisers') to 'control' the apparent anarchy and overcome the contradictions, thus ensuring permanent full employment and harmonious progress. The second school claims that the Marxist analysis of capitalism was in principle correct and would have been operating also today but that the active role of the labour movement and of democratic political institutions, supposedly unforeseen by Marx (this latter point betrays ignorance of what Marx actually wrote on these matters) has reversed the operation of these laws and thereby overcome the contradictions and ensured crisis-free progress and general betterment within capitalism and without socialism. In either case resistance to these theories is treated as a 'doctrinaire' adherence to 'obsolete' formulas about a past stage of capitalism in place of recognising modern facts.

Fading Myths

It is true that these 'latest' theories have already begun to look a trifle flyblown in face of the anxieties of the present deteriorating

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economic situation in the capitalist world, the growth of mass unemployment in the United States, the closing down of factories or wholesale dismissals and short time in Britain, the gold scares and the dollar question mark. The 'built-in stabilisers' do not seem quite so effective. The Jays and the Croslands and the Stracheys might well hesitate today to offer to lecture on their theories of the 'new' 'crisis-free' 'people's capitalism' to the car workers in Coventry. Indeed Coventry Labour Party has made clear that they have no desire to welcome Mr. Gaitskell preaching his customary denunciation of Labour Party policy, any more than they were prepared to welcome General Norstad preaching essentially the same nuclear theme. Practice, as ever, eventually exposes all false theories. But this alone is not enough. Depression can be followed by boom, and the myths will unblushingly be paraded anew. The real exposure of the true character of modern capitalism needs to go deeper, and not depend on the ups and downs of the moment. It is here that arises the long-term importance of the present document in its treatment of the present phase of modern capitalism as 'a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism'.

Increasing Contradictions

The new Declaration explodes for ever the myth that Marxists see only the classic analysis of a preceding period and ignore modern facts. So far from insisting that capitalism today is identical with the capitalism of the nineteenth century or of the first quarter of the twentieth century, it emphasises the changes and new features. What are these changes and new features? The changes, so far from reversing the laws of motion analysed by Marx and Lenin, are the consequence of their further operation to an extreme stage. So far from overcoming the contradictions and replacing them by harmonious progress, the latest developments are intensifying all the contradictions in every sphere. 'The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay.' The acceleration of monopoly concentration, conspicuously illustrated in the ceaseless frenzied take-over bids and giant mergers, with ever fewer and more monstrous titans battling in the jungle, has aroused universal alarm and increases instability. The contradiction between the advance of modern technique and productive power and the social economic relations of capitalism is more extreme than it has ever been. It is reflected in chronic unused capacity (50 per cent of United States steel capacity is at the moment unused) and obstruc-

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tion or distortion of productive effort. The increasing rate of exploitation has been demonstrated in the increasing lag of wage rates behind the advance of output per head and of profits and dividends in the current period.

State Monopoly Capitalism

All these increasing social and economic contradictions 'have accelerated the advance of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism'. The biggest monopolies utilise their control of the state machinery, no longer merely to maintain their class domination, but for their special monopolist advantage. They squeeze nationalisation as their milch-cow, equally at the expense of the workers in the nationalised industries and the consumers. They extract thousands of millions of pounds in state subsidies to private capitalism (£2,311 million between 1951 and 1959, according to the answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in parliament on February 2, 1960). They force up arms orders and promote the arms race, as most conspicuously shown in the United States with the operations of what President Eisenhower recently called 'the Munitions Lobby'. This accelerated development of state monopoly capitalism, so far from solving the contradictions, intensifies them, especially in the international sphere.

International Contradictions

It is above all in the international sphere that this increasing 'disintegration and decay' of the capitalist world is visible. The battle of the rival monopolists, of the Common Market, of sterling and dollar grows more intense. Uneven development leads to ceaseless change in the balance of forces within imperialism. During the initial phase after the second world war the United States monopolists, the greatest war profiteers in history, outstripped all the rest of the capitalist world combined in the volume and rate of growth of production and technique, in the accumulation of capital and gold reserves, and in the export of capital drawing a great part of the world into their grip. On this basis the dollar magnates dreamed of world domination, and sought to buttress their dreams with vast military programmes, military occupation of a world-wide range of foreign countries, and strategic and economic 'aid' treaties to secure their new 'empire'. Today the balance shifts. The overstrained dollar trembles. The dollar lords send begging missions to the countries they 'aided' in order to plead for aid to 'save the dollar', even though these somewhat hypocritical pleas on behalf of what

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is still the strongest and wealthiest monopoly capitalism in the world are rather in the nature of a preliminary barrage to prepare the way for new measures of economic warfare against their monopolist rivals. Thus the contradictions within imperialism rise to new heights, at the same time as the sphere of imperialism in the world as a whole grows more restricted.

Socialism and National Liberation

This narrowing of the sphere of imperialism in the world is the most obvious sign of its increasing disintegration. One-third of the world is now irretrievably lost to imperialism and has become the new world of socialism. In these countries the social changes, ending of class divisions and the triumphs of construction are now such, after over a decade of the new order, that 'the restoration of capitalism has been made economically and socially impossible'. Their unity and combined strength 'reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction'—as the rapid smashing of the Western attempt to restore White terror in Hungary proved. In the remaining two-thirds of the world the majority of the peoples are in revolt against imperialism. The advance of national liberation has swept forward and continues to sweep forward in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the formation of independent states and extending resistance against continued or new forms of imperialist penetration. Thus it is evident to all that the imperialist system as a world system is in extreme decay. Even the still continuing economic and financial exploitation of two-thirds of the world, which still for a short time sustains the old-style parasitic 'prosperity' of the former dominant metropolitan centres in the West, even after the loss of the former political rule, has now begun to come under direct attack (Cuba, United Arab Republic), and will manifestly not survive. The advance to socialism is becoming an urgent question also for the Western countries of still entrenched capitalist privilege.

Crime of the Congo

Especially important in this context is the treatment of the new problems of the national liberation struggle, after the victorious establishment of independent states in the majority of former colonial countries. It is true that in a number of territories the elementary battle to win independence and end colonial rule is still at its height. This applies still to much of Africa. Algeria is the front line of the liberation battle. In Congo, the historic scene of

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the blackest crimes of imperialism for three-quarters of a century, all the past crimes have been renewed by the present combined assault of all the powers of imperialism to destroy the new hard-won freedom within a few days of its winning, to overthrow by force the elected parliament and parliamentary government, to fling the elected Premier with a parliamentary majority into prison, and set up the terrorist rule of mercenary gangs of thugs and puppets openly paid and armed by the Western imperialist powers.

Stand By the Congo People

The infamy of this crime has been made all the blacker because it has been conducted in the name of fulfilling a United Nations resolution, which was adopted in response to the appeal of the elected parliamentary Premier for support against the lawless aggression and invasion of the Belgian imperialists, and which mandated the Secretary General with military forces reaching 20,000 men to support the legal parliamentary government of Premier Lumumba and compel the evacuation of the Belgian and all other imperialist aggressors. The text of this resolution was completely suppressed in the press, since its publication would have blown sky high the whole subsequent structure of deception based on the lie that the United Nations mandate was to send in troops to 'restore law and order'. These gigantic armed forces were never used against a single Belgian or other imperialist invader, but only against the legal Congo Government and its army, to paralyse its functioning, disarm all loyal soldiers, seize by violence all airfields and radio stations, stop the legal Premier with revolver threats from broadcasting, prevent the parliament meeting, protect the quislings, pay out vast sums of money (United Nations money) to bribe groups of soldiers to forswear their allegiance and form terrorist gangs under imperialist officers or their puppets, and thus establish an imperialist reign of terror in the Congo. It would require the pen of a Morel, a Casement or a Conan Doyle to describe adequately the infamy of this modern crime against the Congo people. For his Congo record Hammarskjöld may well bask in glory with King Leopold in the Rogues' Gallery of imperialism. The people of the Congo Republic, who have already fought and suffered so much for generations at the hands of Western imperialism, will also win through in the end against this terror. For they are no longer alone; they are backed by all Africa; by all Afro-Asia; by the whole socialist world; by all anti-imperialists throughout the world.

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New Problems of National Liberation

The example of the Congo has demonstrated anew that the ferocious desire of imperialism to suppress the freedom of the peoples has in no respect changed. Indeed, in the most recent period the appetite of a major imperialist power has extended even to attempt penetration, a measure of economic and political domination, and military occupation also of leading Western European countries, themselves imperialist powers, where subservient governments have permitted this. The retreats of the imperialists have only taken place where the struggle of the peoples has compelled such retreats. But in the modern period, thanks to the victory of the socialist revolution, the complete liberation of the former colonial peoples held down by Tsarism, the victory of the Chinese revolution, and the weakening of imperialism through the extension of the world socialist system, the majority of former colonial peoples, after generations of previously unsuccessful struggles mercilessly crushed by imperialism, have now been able to establish their independent states. Thereby a new stage has been reached. New problems have come to the front.

Afro-Asia Arisen

Alongside the common interests of all against imperialism, it is evident that conditions vary widely in the newly independent states. There are powerful states like India pursuing their independent policy, at the same time as the highly developed big monopoly interests within India have in certain spheres common links with Western monopoly capital. Independent Indonesia resists all the threats of imperialism. There is the United Arab Republic which, alongside an autocratic internal régime, has been able, thanks to the support of the socialist world and all anti-imperialists, as well as the contradictions of the imperialist powers, to defeat in full-scale war the aggression of the two principal Western European imperialist powers that had formerly held the old Egypt writhing under their heel and dreamed they could still lord it as of old. There are valiant small states like Cuba and Guinea which, in the new world situation, have been able successfully to defy all the pressure and provocations of their powerful former masters. There is the active role of Ghana in the cause of African freedom.

Building the Common Front

On the other hand, there are states like Pakistan, closely tied under its present régime by military links to the American orbit;

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Malaya still under British military occupation; or some of the newly independent states in the former French Equatorial Africa, whose independence at this moment is largely a product of the courageous stand of Guinea, and whose governments in this initial stage still show in some cases signs of tutelage of the former masters. But under the influence of anti-imperialist mass feeling, African or Afro-Asian, even the governments of states of the latter type have begun to be drawn into a common front on some issues; and this process will rapidly develop. In the very first days of Nigerian independence the British military agreement has aroused popular demonstrations of protest. In all these countries the economic hold of imperialism is still strong; and new methods of penetration are attempted. The peoples of the Latin American states, whose independence was long ago won by popular revolutions, are engaged in active struggle to throw off American economic domination or governments or dictatorships maintained by American subsidies and support.

Future Path of National Liberation

From this diversified picture certain conclusions follow. The battle of national liberation is not ended, as the complacent imperialist apologists pretend, in all save the relatively limited area of still colonial territories. Colonialism is on the way out; but in this final stage the battle of national liberation against imperialism is advancing to new heights, draws in all the newly independent states, and has become more than ever the common cause of all mankind. Experience has demonstrated that the winning of politically independent states is only the first stage of the road to liberation from imperialism. Its completion requires liberation from the economic and strategic domination of imperialism; ending entanglement in imperialist military blocs; mastery of the natural resources and economic assets of the country; industrialisation and agricultural development to end the old one-sided dependent colonial economy.

States of 'Independent National Democracy'

Does this mean that, following the victory of political independence, the next stage becomes at once the battle for working class power and socialism? Not necessarily. Here the Declaration breaks important new ground in tackling this problem, so vital for peoples representing one-third of humanity, and whose understanding is also essential for the labour movement in the imperialist countries in order to fulfil adequately the role of solidarity in this

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new stage. The tasks of the revolution in the colonial and former colonial countries are the tasks of the democratic anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolution; that is, to end the domination of imperialism and of the reactionary feudal oppressors whom imperialism sustained to support its rule. The fulfilment of these tasks requires a broad united national front of all classes opposed to imperialism, co-operating to establish states of 'independent national democracy': that is, states maintaining political, economic and military independence from imperialism; excluding imperialist military blocs and bases or economic penetration; and ensuring broad democratic rights to make possible popular advance, agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes. On this basis the peoples of these countries can advance, at their own time, and in accordance with their own development, conditions and forms, to the future transition to socialism.

Jungle of the Cold War and Arms Race

In the face of this advance of socialism and national liberation over the greater part of the world, the rulers of the diminishing imperialist sector have had recourse to desperate measures to sustain their crumbling régime during the past decade and a half since the second world war. They have built up a gigantic system of military blocs and subsidised counter-revolution, under the leadership of the United States monopolists and militarists, to check the advance of the peoples. Originally the aim was to 'roll back the advance'; but successive defeats have muted this once confident braggart note. Nevertheless, even though the White emigrés and former Hitlerites who have changed paymasters have now begun to age, the manifest appetite for universal reactionary restoration still lingers in Wall Street and the City, the Pentagon and Bonn, and sustains the whole fantastic multi-billion dollar apparatus of spy centres, saboteurs, special invasion troops, foreign bombing bases, day and night nuclear patrols, U-2 flights and the ever more frantic search for the philosopher's stone of 'the ultimate weapon'. The picture of the culminating stage of capitalism is indeed the picture of a criminal lunatic at large.

A Monster Without Parallel

There is no parallel in history to this monstrous system of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race which is strangling humanity. The Holy Alliance of Castlereagh and Metternich to maintain

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monarchist reaction against the democratic revolution in Europe was no more than a pale prototype of the system of Truman, Dulles, Bevin and Adenauer. The Anti-Comintern Pact of Hitler, Mussolini and Togo, built up with the initial connivance and practical assistance of London, Paris and New York, set a preliminary smaller scale example, and has provided many of the methods and most of the slogans (including the 'Iron Curtain') taken over bodily, like Von Braun and the V2 experts, from Nazism. The system of military alliances, of NATO, CENTO and SEATO, ranges the globe. American and British military, naval and air bases extend over all the continents and seas. The colossal sums poured out to subsidise counter-revolutionary dictatorships or bribe wavering governments into submission have begun to undermine the resources even of the almighty dollar. The burden of arms expenditure makes all previous arms expenditure, even the once incredible arms budgets of Hitler, appear by comparison a trifle. The terror weapons, nuclear, thermonuclear or bacteriological, designed for the destruction of hundreds of millions of human beings at a stroke, exceed in barbarity the most horrible phases of human history. It is recognised by all that a critical moment has been reached for the future of humanity.

The Fight for Peace

It is in this situation that the new Declaration's call to all sections of all the peoples in the world to unite in the fight for peace, for the ending of the cold war, for the abolition of nuclear weapons, for total and general disarmament has won such wide response in all quarters. The 'prime task' now is declared to be to 'safeguard humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster'. This immediate question takes precedence of all other questions. The urgency of this task cannot wait for ultimate long-term solutions through changes in the social system which will finally remove the causes of war. Socialism has always striven for peace. This is not the new feature of the situation. Socialists have always understood that the causes of war lie in the class system of society. From the first victory of the socialist revolution the new socialist state strove for and publicly proclaimed the aim of peaceful co-existence of socialist and capitalist states. This also is not new. It has always been the rulers of capitalism who have forced the alternative of war. So it was with the first world war and the wars of intervention. So it was with Nazism and the cold war and colonial wars which have followed.

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But a stage has now been reached, with the menacing development of the modern world situation, with the confrontation of capitalism and socialism, with the daily accelerating advance in range and delivery of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, when a solution has to be found and peace won already in the midst of the present dangerous situation, despite the aggressive plans of the war-making forces of imperialism, if mankind is to be saved from a destructive catastrophe on a scale and of a type never before known. This is the specific new problem which the modern world situation has posed. And it is the firm and positive answer of the Declaration to this new problem which has aroused such wide response from so many quarters in all countries.

Poison and Antidote

Every poison, it has been said, gives rise to its antidote. Through every seemingly insuperable menace and insoluble impasse in its long half-billion years' ascent, humanity has eventually found the way forward. Today the unique modern world situation, with the rotting body of capitalism, long overdue for removal, surviving into an age of miracles of science and technique which require for their fulfilment the social basis of socialism and which should never have come within reach of the itching fingers of the capitalist Calibans, has brought us to a moment of extreme menace, typified in the mad war dreams of the nuclear maniacs who boast of their ambition to destroy the whole world rather than see the end of their obsolete social system. But there is another side to this new world situation.

How Peace Can Be Saved

For the first time, also, a stage has been reached when the forces of the peoples for peace (of the world socialist system, of the newly independent states and national liberation movement, of the working class in the capitalist countries, of all supporters of peace) are preponderant and strong enough, if united for a common policy, to check the aggressive war plans of the war-making circles of imperialism, stop local wars before they spread, compel negotiation, compel peaceful co-existence and disarmament—also in advance of changes in the internal social systems of countries. Not an easy task. But practicable. And essential. The ending of the wars in Korea, Vietnam and Suez have given a preliminary indication of the possibilities. This is the new feature in the world situation which the Declaration brings out. This is the new principle which it proclaims, carrying

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forward the line of the 1957 statement. And it is the firm proclamation of this principle which has won such universal response, because it has brought the message of confidence and hope to mankind, tortured by the nightmare menace of nuclear war, that the peoples are today strong enough to exorcise that menace.

Peaceful Co-Existence and Disarmament

The fulfilment of this perspective does not depend on pious aspirations, or on speculations whether war is or is not 'inevitable' (the caricature of the real argument presented in the current press). It depends entirely on practical action. It requires the absolute rejection of the theory of 'peace through mutual terror' or 'nuclear stalemate'; for this is nothing but the old theory of the arms race and 'peace through strength' of rival blocs which has always led to war. It requires equally the rejection of the theory of 'local wars' or 'limited wars' or 'tactical nuclear wars'; for these in a moment could become major thermonuclear war. It requires the ending of colonial wars and repression, and the recognition of the national independence of all people as vital for peace. In terms of current policy, it requires the banning of nuclear tests as the first step to the banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons. The fight to liberate Britain from nuclear strategy and nuclear bases is a most important part of this wider programme. It requires the replacement of the cold war by peaceful co-existence, and for this purpose the dissolution of all sectional military pacts, dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and withdrawal of all troops of occupation. It requires the most tenacious fight for general disarmament with international control and inspection (not inspection without disarmament, as proposed by the West). Disarmament was once either a utopian aspiration or a hypocritical formula of statesmen to cover the realities of the arms race. Today with the modern development of weapons disarmament has become an imperative necessity and an essential element of an immediate practical programme.

Practical Conclusions for Britain

For no country are these conclusions more important than for Britain. The present Tory Government is surrendering Britain simultaneously to American military, air and now naval occupation (the Polaris missile site as the latest provocation) and to West German military occupation (German military 'training' and 'supply' bases across five counties). Britain is not the leader of the Cold War

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Holy Alliance, but the principal subordinate partner and destined victim. A change of Britain's policy in the direction of independence and peace could transform the international situation. Hence the frantic concern of the Tories and 'Tory-Lab' Leaders to prevent by every means the swing of the powerful labour movement in the direction of such a change.

Beyond Scarborough

The revolt of the British people has won its preliminary expression in the decisions of the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party. The sequel of Scarborough has shown that the battle rises to greater heights. The same unity and practical co-operation of all fighters for peace, socialists, communists and militant trade unionists, in association with the peace movement, which won the victories in the trade union conferences and thereby at Scarborough, needs now to be further strengthened and carried forward to compel the fulfilment of the Scarborough decisions; to raise the campaign for the rejection of the Polaris and other American bases and of the planned German bases; and to advance the fight for a positive policy for peace. The advance of the fight for peace is bound up with the advance of the home fight in the sharpening social and economic situation; the same unity which won the day at Scarborough is essential to defeat the economic offensive of the Tory Government and the employers, to revive the spirit of 1945 and go forward to new political victories and social advance. In the longer perspective the triumph of peaceful co-existence would provide the most favourable conditions for the peaceful and most rapid transition to socialism. The new Declaration illumines the path forward on an international scale. We can go forward in our fight here in Britain with all the greater confidence and inspiration from the knowledge that we are moving forward in common with the advancing peoples of the world for common aims.

December 14, 1960 R.P.D.

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Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

THE GREAT TRAGEDY

John Newton*

IN the rush of political cross currents the real issues of nuclear disarmament are very often obscured.

What are the issues involved as a consequence of the continuation of more than a century of scientific pre-occupation with the physical properties of matter, and of the result—the H-bomb? Although it may now appear to be platitudinous, it serves a purpose to restate the devastating effects of a megaton bomb, and make what comparisons are available, so that the tremendous explosive power of the H-bomb can be judged on the basis of the effectiveness of the present defensive arrangements and the risks involved in them.

It is estimated that the total weight of explosives used in the Second World War was equivalent to 5,000,000 tons of T.N.T. A 20 megaton bomb it is claimed is equal to 20,000,000 tons of T.N.T. or one H-bomb can contain four times the equivalent of the explosive power used in the Second World War. It will be seen quite clearly that the H-bomb is the final or ultimate weapon. But that is not all. The production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons is such that there is now available and ready for use tens, if not hundreds, of times more explosive power than has ever been used in the history of mankind, including the two world wars. In other words Nature can exact a hundredfold retribution for the maladaptation of her own violent reactions over the known history of mankind, the equivalent of all the explosive power ever used is now contained in nuclear weapons. It is as if some malevolent spirit had reconstituted all the explosive power used in previous wars and stored them ready for use at the present day. Surely in such a state of affairs national and ideological antagonisms are tragically ludicrous.

But it is not sufficient merely to oppose the Bomb, although the renunciation of H-bombs and missiles is a cardinal factor of any real protective arrangement for the British people. In a world armed to the teeth there must be a real defensive policy. That policy must declare that the occupation of British territory will not be tolerated, and that any attempt at the invasion of these islands from

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any source will be repulsed. That means that Britain must be in a position to repel any attempt at invasion. By a declaration that we would not drop atom bombs on the people of any other country, and that we will have no missile bases, which could be used for the same purpose, the threat of retaliation would be removed. Likewise a declaration that we would prevent the occupation of our territory would emphasise that we would not be prepared to let anybody else do so either. Furthermore, since nuclear fission and fusion have been brought about by piercing or removing the natural protection of the nucleus of the atom, it would not be outrageous to claim that an antidote could eventually be found to the H-bomb itself, if the money spent on its development was spent for this purpose.

Those who believe in the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons believe most sincerely in multilateral disarmament.

The exponents of the bomb, because of their dependence on the United States are in no position to make an effective contribution to multilateral disarmament agreements. They are no longer independent, for those who pay the piper call the tune. Nor can they pursue vitally independent internal political and economic policies: the recent attempts to reduce the socialist content of Labour Party policy are at least logical in this context.

The renunciation of the bomb would mean the restoration of the international dignity of Great Britain, and real opportunities to act as real international mediators. Political institutions appear to be becoming inadequate to meet the tremendous tasks now being imposed on them. The ineffectiveness and tragic impotence of the House of Commons in the field of international negotiation demonstrates the inability of the political mind to grasp the finality of the most appalling tragedy awaiting mankind. How else can one explain the banal and sometimes downright misleading utterances of some of the political leaders of both major political parties? On the basis of allying themselves and the country with this colossal destructive power, they repudiate their own policies, and solemnly assure their obedient followers that the electorate will be able to distinguish between two opposing policies, which are essentially the same.

A megaton bomb dropped in the middle of England would annihilate a large section of the British people and make the country sterile for many years. This is the real risk that the politicians are taking. Fifty million people are placed in a position of the greatest peril because of the chronic inability of the Government and their supporters in the Labour Party to understand that the arrival of the

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H-bomb has altered the course of human destiny, and outdated their ideological conceptions.

We are informed that if we do not accept the defensive policies promoted by the orthodox faction of the Labour Party, the Party will lose the next General Election. Since there has been little difference in the policies of either of the two major political parties on the basic principles of defence, this can mean no other than that the British public accepts the present Tory Party defence arrangement. If this were so and in other respects socialist policy were to be disembowelled, then the British public would have no particular reason to change the Government. In the modern world compromise within limits is justifiable and sometimes essential, but compromise with prevarication leads nowhere but to the morass. The resurrection of the 'practical politics' of 1931 is consonant with the renunciation of moral obligation in 1960. To be more charitable, it is evident that the leaders of today suffer from a political over-anxiety complex. They confuse conventionality with respectability, and do not appear to understand that whilst they suffer from this complex they will never be the Government.

The proposed solution contained in the Defence and Policy Statement of the Labour Party means complete dependence on the U.S., a policy which Mr. George Brown declared five years ago would make us both a satellite and a weakling. It is a policy which would leave the British people without physical protection. Whatever may be said of the barbarous logic of the deterrent, the deterrent relies on a threat. If it is not used it has nothing but a psychological impact, and in that it is no better than any other policy which relies on psychological content; indeed, since its basis is a threat, it is worse.

The simple fact is that if the H-bomb is accepted as a deterrent it cannot be so unless the threat contains the implication to strike first and so far as we are concerned that would be the end. If the H-bomb is accepted as a deterrent, the strike-first threat must be accepted as well. Much has been said of the satellites of Soviet Russia, but recent events have now shown that we have little to say in the direction of our defensive arrangements, and it is now obvious that the leading politicians of both major parties are reducing Great Britain's international status to that of Hungary, Bulgaria or Poland.

The British public has not yet fully grasped what is being done in their name, but further encroachment on their national sovereignty is inevitable as the present policy develops and as the present episode of the Polaris submarine shows.

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But the truth will eventually out, as the politicians continually demonstrate their ineffectiveness and the international status of Great Britain is diminished as a result. Those of us who oppose this policy do so on the real and essential issue of the protection of the people of this country, and the world.

WAGES, WORK & ORGANISATION

F. S. Winchester

General Secretary, National Union of Vehicle Builders.

IS the worker immediately concerned whether nuclear weapons are unilaterally or multilaterally banned, whether NATO is ahead of the Soviet bloc in the arms race, whether a man can be rocketed to the moon? or is he more interested in his job, his home and the welfare of his children? Demonstrations of workers to Parliament from Belfast, Birmingham, Coventry and London, and the demonstrations in the many towns hit by the present slump show a new militancy which refuses to accept mass unemployment in the 'sixties as experienced by so many in the 'twenties and 'thirties.

Bread and butter politics and trades unionism are important to the worker and dare not be ignored. Millions with an average weekly take-home wage packet of £7 or even less for men, £5 or less for women, means there is still work for the trade unions to do to improve wages. The skilled engineering worker has a consolidated weekly wage of £9 6s. 8d. before stoppages. Fresh thinking is called for. There are too many trade union agreements in this country giving too many different wage rates, in many instances for the same kind of work. Wages Councils fix a multitude of other rates. A minimum national wage rate fixed by Parliament which would enable a man to provide adequately for his wife and children will have to come during the 'sixties, preferably from a Labour Government. This national rate would be the same for men and women. Additional earnings for skills will be negotiated by the unions. Systems of payment by results or of bonus earnings will be negotiated on the shop floor. A trade union movement which

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had origins dating back to the year 1800 or 1900 must lose unless progress is made in line with modern advances in industry.

In vehicle building, the first wage agreements covered horse-drawn vehicles; with the railways came another agreement; the mass production car industry, municipal transport, private bus companies and road haulage all have differing rates of pay for vehicle builders. Wage rates should be consolidated so that a vehicle builder in one section of industry is not undercutting his mate in another section. This one example can be multiplied a hundred times. Drivers of vehicles quickly come to mind, trains, coaches, buses (private, municipal, London Transport Executive), goods vehicles (nationalised and privately-owned) all carry different rates of pay.

For too long have we attempted to function as a trade union movement on rules more appropriate to the nineteenth century. No longer is it found that the trade union branch remains the sole unit of organisation; too many members never attend the branch. Drastic re-organisation is necessary. The branch should remain responsible for collecting contributions, the conduct of branch meetings, the nomination and election of officers, side by side with organisation on a shop floor, depot or office basis to enable quick and expert help and guidance to be available to members on the spot.

A full-time trade union official only secures election after many years of hard and patient service to his union. The shop steward as an important official of any union, should be subjected to the same kind of election as the branch secretary or the branch president. The union should be responsible for the election of its shop stewards, all of whom should be answerable to the branch and the union.

There are too many unions. Over a half a million people are employed in the motor industry, yet to settle one problem in any one shop may involve fourteen unions. An industry that size should have its own negotiating machinery, as opposed to the present position where so many unions are involved and questions are taken many miles away to York instead of being dealt with in the Midlands where the workers are employed.

Some years ago I was shown a modern automatic plant for turning out sheet steel, miles and miles of it. Unfortunately, the plant fell out of adjustment so sheet steel came off like corrugated cardboard. Modern automatic machinery, unless closely watched or completely electronic, can quickly turn out rubbish. The same methods put workers on the scrap heap even quicker. During the 'fifties the motor car manufacturers improved semi-automation, thereby in-

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creasing their output of vehicles, so that today, with plant capable of producing more vehicles in a year than ever before, it is suddenly found the output is no longer required. This is with semi-automation. Plant fully automated with electronic devices will create surplus labour even quicker, so that at the present rate of 'progress', unemployment is likely to be more pronounced at the end of the 'sixties. A small labour force will keep the plant working twenty-four hours a day on eight-hour shifts. Overtime will become a thing of the past. An adequate wage for a 40-hour week will be the struggle for the 'sixties.

Side by side with the development of being able to produce more vehicles than are required either at home or in the world markets, comes the question of the amount of money which continues to be invested in industry. Not of necessity to finance development, but simply because an atmosphere of prosperity has been created which indicates that ordinary share units of a nominal value of £1 can be sold on the Stock Exchange for as much as £4, £5 and now even £7. In speaking to a motion on wages at the 1959 T.U.C., I stated:

> The trade union movement must be quite emphatic on this question of profits and dividends. If there are those misguided people in this country who think that they can invest surplus money in company shares at prices far in excess of their nominal value, on the assumption that trade unionists will produce more for the same wages, then this Congress must give them the answer.

We cannot accept that money invested should enable the investor to get a better standard than the wage earner who produced the profits.

Not only is a trade union called upon to get reasonable wages, hours, holidays and conditions of work for members, but there must be an obligation to protect the member from the many outrageous demands made upon his wage packet from uncontrolled sources. In the factory he is constantly urged to produce more for less money. His national insurance stoppages increase, at home his rent or mortgage repayments suddenly rise, food goes up, clothing, transport, even his fags. All in the interest of profit which again is spent on stocks and shares, calling for additional profits from the worker to supply dividends on these shares.

The actual number of producers tends to grow steadily less and less. Judging by the new office buildings going up in every town, it becomes apparent that the office workers will greatly outnumber the actual producer on the factory floor. This kind of Alice in Wonderland economy cannot last, but the trade unions must see to it that when the crash comes, the worker is not the hardest hit.

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Present trends indicate that workers will not continue to work long hours for wages which are not sufficient to provide a decent standard of living, or a standard at least equal to that of his neighbour or the Joneses. Low basic wage rates fail to provide the incentive to efficiency. News of take over bids whereby millions are made on the stock exchange tends to create a bitter resentment of a system which gives a better return on capital invested than on skilled labour.

That £1,600 million a year are spent by this country in a mad arms race which offers nothing but complete annihilation in the event of war, brings a sobering thought. However great the catastrophe some form of life will eventually emerge.

Yet now, it seems, the great labour and trade union movement is split from top to bottom, mainly on this question of the H-bomb. On the evidence it does appear that most people believe in nuclear war: the election of another Tory government in 1959, the recent American elections, the balance of power held in France, Germany and U.S.S.R.—all this tends to suggest that the people in these countries accept nuclear war as an imaginary deterrent. On the one hand we have NATO; on the other the Soviet bloc: and in an atmosphere of created fear, both sides continue to manufacture and test nuclear arms, spending millions upon millions of money in a mad arms race, money which could be used for the civilised progress of mankind. I incline to pacifism: my early socialist teachings instilled in me a belief that all wars are diabolical, causing misery and suffering to countless millions of workers, with all the profits going to the capitalist financiers. Not only nuclear, but all munitions should be banned, and will be, when the profit motive is taken out of war.

Under the expert guidance of the press the movement was led towards the Trades Union Congress at Douglas and Labour Party Annual Conference at Scarborough ready to accept sharp differences of opinion and challenges to leadership. What is now known as 'intelligent anticipation' enabled the press to forecast accurately and even to divide the labour and trade union movement. We are portrayed as divided, those on the right, those on the left. The Tory government was re-elected: had the result of the general election been otherwise, we could perhaps become complacent, but at the moment there is a need to examine present trends.

The trade unions were established on socialist doctrines and during the 'sixties will find opportunities for the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, in a word, Socialism.

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Forty Hour Week

AS Brother Guy so rightly says engineering workers are now much concerned over the right to work. With sackings and short time in motors and elsewhere surely now is the time to fight for the long delayed forty hour week. Frank Foulkes, in his Confederation presidential address, said that the reduction from 44 to 42 was an outstanding achievement, but only an interim settlement. Many union conferences have demanded 40 hours now. Even Carron says that the industry can stand it but blunts the edge of the attack by talking about 'progressive reduction'. What kind of progress? The 44 hours was only accepted in 1946 as an interim settlement; are we to wait another 14 years for the final step, or, shall I say, shuffle?

Any real move will have to come from the shop stewards, and particularly the joint stewards movement. Their lead I am sure would be actively supported by members in the shops. Since employers always gibe that we only want a 40 hour week to get more overtime, let's call their bluff and start there. The A.E.U. National Committee gave a lead in demanding that permitted overtime be reduced to 20 hours a month, all at double time, with treble time for Sundays and Bank Holidays, and consultation with the stewards before any overtime is allowed at all. Then if the employers refuse, ban the lot. Let shops and branches bombard union offices with resolutions and members write to the union journals. Why wait for the slump?

REG HOOPER.

(A.E.U., chairman of a London motor works shop stewards' committee.)

DON'T MISS THESE

Amongst future contributions to the series already in hand are the following: The Case for Nationalisation, by HARRY WEAVER *(President of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers), and articles by* GEORGE ELVIN *(Cinetechnicians),* W. LINDLEY *(Watermen and Lightermen), etc. Order your copies* NOW.

For those who may have missed previous articles on trade union problems in the past six months, we list the following:

J. E. Mortimer (Draughtsmen), *'Prospects for Shipbuilding';*

W. Paynter (Miners), *'Crisis in Coal' (August).*

A. L. Horner (Miners), *'Coal: What Future?' (September).*

F. Crump (Life Assurance Workers), *'Nationalising Insurance';*

D. McLaren (Engineering Apprentices), *'My First Strike' (October).*

R. Willis (London Typographical), *'Turning Point for Trade Unionists' (November).*

R. W. Briginshaw (Printers), *'The Press Jungle';*

George Scott (Electricians), *'NATO Prevents Peace' (December).*

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Francis Bacon: the Fat

WE celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Francis Bacon on January 22, 1561. Below we give a few quotations from some of the most important works of this worthy son of England, which Engels called 'the original home of all modern materialism'.

★

TO WRITE AT LEISURE what is to be read at leisure does not interest me. My concern is with life and human affairs and all their troubles and difficulties. It is these I wish to improve by true and wholesome thoughts.

Letter to Casaubon, 1609.

IT WILL NOT BE AMISS TO DISTINGUISH the three kinds and as it were grades of ambition in mankind. The first is of those who desire to extend their own power in their native country; which kind is vulgar and degenerate. The second is of those who labour to extend the power of their country and its dominion among men. This certainly has more dignity, though not less covetousness. But if a man endeavour to establish and extend the power and dominion of the human race itself over the universe, his ambition (if ambition it can be called) is without doubt both a more wholesome thing and a more noble than the other two. Now the empire of men over things depends wholly on the arts and sciences. For we cannot command nature except by obeying her.

The New Logic, Aphorism 129.

THE TRUE AND LAWFUL GOAL of the sciences is simply this, that human life be enriched by new discoveries and powers. The great majority have no feeling for this. Their thoughts never rise above money-making and the routine of their calling. But every now and then it does happen that an exceptionally intelligent and ambitious craftsman applies himself to a new invention and, as a rule, ruins himself in the process.

The Same, Aphorism 81.

HE THAT INJURES ONE, threatens many.

Ornamenta Rationala (*Elegant Sentences*).

WE IMITATE ALSO FLIGHTS OF BIRDS; we have some degrees of flying in the air; we have ships and boats for going under water, and brooking of seas.

New Atlantis (Bacon's scientific utopia).

THE MONUMENTS OF WIT and learning are more durable than the monuments of power, or of the hands.

The Advancement of Learning, Book I.

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# of English Materialism

MAN IS THE HELPER AND INTERPRETER of Nature. He can only act and understand insofar as by working upon her or observing her he has come to perceive her order. Beyond this he has neither knowledge nor power. For there is no strength that can break the causal chain: Nature cannot be conquered but by obeying her. Accordingly these twin goals, human science and human power, come in the end to one. To be ignorant of causes is to be frustrated in action.

The New Philosophy.

THE WORLD IS NOT TO BE NARROWED DOWN till it will go into the understanding, which has been the practice hitherto, but the understanding must be stretched and expanded to take in the image of the world as it is discovered.

Parasceve.

WHEN YOU FALSELY ASSERTED THAT TRUTH is, as it were, the native inhabitant of the human mind and does not come from outside in order to take up its abode there; when you turned our minds away from observation and away from things, to which it is impossible that they should ever be sufficiently attentive and obedient; when you taught us to turn our minds inward and grovel before our own blind and confused idols under the name of contemplative pholosophy; then truly you dealt us a mortal injury.

On Plato, in *The Masculine Birth of Time.*

IT IS IN THE NATURE OF EXTREME SELF-LOVERS, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs.

Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.

IT IS THE WISDOM OF THE CROCODILES, that shed tears when they would devour.

The Same.

THE SUREST WAY TO PREVENT SEDITIONS (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them.

Of Seditions and Troubles.

MONEY IS LIKE MUCK, not good except it be spread.

The Same.

★

BACON died on April 9, 1626. Marx said of him: 'The real progenitor of English materialism is Bacon. To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy and physics based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy.'

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OPEN LETTER TO ROBIN PAGE ARNOT

(Co-Founder and Associate Editor of *Labour Monthly* on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, December 15, 1960.)

After all, a seventieth birthday only happens once in a lifetime. During the daily routine of close co-operation over nearly four and a half decades (we first made each other's acquaintance in 1914) there is little time or opportunity for expressing feelings on anything but the matter in hand. So it is only right that on this occasion a word should be spoken, alongside the many tributes to your work in other spheres, to express what our journal owes to you.

From the beginning of this journal, and indeed earlier, from the long planning which preceded its foundation, you were not only the joint founder, but the most fertile inspirer and creator, just as you have been the most continuous and brilliant contributor on every subject under the sun, the most resourceful in inspiring contributions from others, and the most untiring in all the labours of editorial production. Your encyclopaedic knowledge, your wide scholarship and ferocious insistence on accuracy, your exceptional experience and acquaintance with all the leading personalities of the trade union and labour movement over the past half century, your humanity and wit, and your loving encouragement and help to all new writers, have played the key role in shaping the distinctive character of our journal and establishing its place in the hearts of generations of readers in the labour movement in this country and all over the world.

I am sure that all readers of *Labour Monthly* will join in expressing their thanks to you and their warm good wishes for the future for yourself and Olive. We look forward with confidence for new triumphs of creative work from you, as you go forward to complete the third volume of your epic *History of the Miners*, which will assuredly remain a classic long after the files of our journal have become a mouldering treasure trove for research historians seeking the true record of the life and politics of our age. Your stamp is equally upon both, upon your books and upon this magazine; and we greet you equally as a friend, a creative writer and a revolutionary political fighter.

R. PALME DUTT.

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LIGHT ON CENTRAL AFRICA

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

IN the midst of the swift movement of African peoples into independence, the constitutional arrangements of the present 'Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland' as I write are being elaborately and expensively discussed at a Conference in London as if the Whites involved were unaware that they are sitting at the edge of the precipice over which all White domination in Africa is tottering.

What is the origin of this Conference? Seven years ago, three colonial territories (the first, Southern Rhodesia, a self-governing Dominion, prosperous for Whites and dominated by Whites with outlooks and habits scarcely different from those of their neighbour Dr. Verwoerd;* the second, Northern Rhodesia, a protectorate with few White inhabitants and overwhelmingly rich in copper; and the third, Nyasaland, a protectorate, again with few Whites and producing—like Ireland or Slovakia half a century ago—substantially nothing but cheap exportable labour power), were forced, against the wishes of the Africans, who were approximately 96½ per cent of the total population, into a Federation completely dominated by the Whites. Elaborate pretences put forward by the Whites, including those in the United Kingdom, both at the time of Federation and subsequently, that the Africans were not hostile to Federation, were generally known at the time to be as false and fraudulent as most other statements by colonialist politicians; and, as we shall see, their falsity is fully confirmed by the 'Monckton Report' which I discuss below.

The Constitution of the Federation provided that its position must be reviewed at a Conference to be held not less than seven years nor more than nine years after Federation; hence the Conference mentioned above, which began its sittings on December 5, 1960, as this article is being written. The three African leaders represent 1,000,000 members organised in the parties of the three territories. They are Dr. Hastings Banda (Malawi Congress, of Nyasaland), Mr. Joshua Nkomo (National Democratic Party, of Southern Rhodesia) and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda (United National Independence Party, of Northern Rhodesia). They made it clear

*The Monckton Report states: 'In Southern Rhodesia there is a large volume of European opinion hostile to Federation. Many believe it will bring about a too rapid increase in the political power of Africans. . . . (There is a) number who, rather than surrender this domination, might prefer union with South Africa'. (*Report of the Advisory Commission on the Review of the Constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*. Cmnd. 1148. Paragraph 44.)

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in a press statement on the eve of conference that they were only coming to it on conditions, and

> with the intention of burying what they regard as the corpse of the Federation. (*The Times*, December 5, 1960.)

How long it will sit, and whether it will break up or run its full course, with or without useful results, cannot yet be seen; but it is already clear—and is an indication how far the tide of African advance has already swept forward—that the leaders of the African parties in each of the three territories, acting together as a team, holding the initiative, and ready and able to walk out of the Conference if it does not behave itself, have already won the important point that the reform of the present Constitution of at any rate the two Northern territories must be discussed at the same time as the Federation Conference; they have of course also established that secession will be an item, and one of the most prominent items, in the Federation Conference.

The U.K. Government had meanwhile, in July, 1959, appointed a Commission, commonly called 'the Monckton Commission' after its chairman, Lord Monckton. 'to advise the five Governments' (*i.e.*, those of the U.K., of the Federation, and of each of the three territories) 'in preparation for the 1960 Review on the constitutional programme best suited to the achievement of the objects contained in the Constitution . . . including the Preamble'. The Preamble piously proclaimed the ideal of 'partnership' between Whites and Africans under a Constitution as heavily weighted against the Africans as could well be imagined—indeed, it can scarcely be imagined in the atmosphere of today. The Monckton Commission recognises expressly the Africans' standpoint that 'federation was for the benefit of Europeans only' and that 'partnership in their view has been a sham'.*

What, in essence, is the result of the Commission's work? To start with, it states quite clearly that African opposition to Federation, already strong in 1953, 'has grown more intense'.

> 31. The old grounds of opposition remain. To these, new grounds have been added during the last seven years; and developments, both within the Federation and outside it, have lent strength to that opposition . . . the citizens of the Federation will have seen independence come to one of their neighbour states which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as more experienced politically. . . .

*When the Monckton Report was discussed in the Legislative Council. Sir John Moffat stated: 'There will be civil war in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland within a year after the federal review conference if federation in whatever form is continued against the will of the people'. (*The Times*, November 10, 1960.)

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> 32. These events occurring outside the borders of the Federation have had a powerful effect within. It is inevitable and natural that the prospect of independence, seven years ago unthinkably remote, should now appear to many Africans to be a right from which they should be no longer debarred. . . . So long as Federation seems to them to block their way to rapid political progress, so long will their hostility to it continue to grow.

(Having stated that, it is true that the Report nevertheless adds that there is less African opposition in Southern Rhodesia, but recent events in that dominion, with the government of Sir Edgar Whitehead taking ever harsher measures against the African population, refute the Commission on that point.)* The Report goes on to show, as already mentioned, that 'partnership' has been as much of a sham as any realist could have foretold. It insists that Conference will have to discuss secession, and recognises that 'the strength of African opposition in the Northern Territories is such that Federation cannot, in our view, be maintained in its present form'. But it goes on to propose that the Federation shall nevertheless be maintained with a new name and a large number of alterations in the distribution of functions, and some improvements in African voting rights (falling of course far short of that equality and justice known as 'one man one vote'). It seeks to justify this recommendation on the ground that Federation has brought great economic advantages to the territories. These are of course advantages for Whites in a White-dominated economy, and the argument of 'benefit to the natives' is a familiar colonialist argument; but here again the facts refute the arguments of the Commission,† and show that the Africans are in many respects worse off than they were before.

The events before the Conference opened showed the intensity with which the battle for Central Africa would be fought. Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod will do all they can to hold on to Federation in one form or another, and possibly even attempt to fall back on an East and Central Federation. They are astute enough—if Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead are not—to grasp that, for British imperialism to keep any influence in this part

*In disturbances in Southern Rhodesia since July, 96 Africans were shot. Under Whitehead's Vagrancy Act 1,500 unemployed were rounded up and held in detention camps. There was the Law and Order Maintenance Bill; the detention of 43 African leaders continued after twenty months; the sentence of four years hard labour on Michael Mawema, former President of the National Democratic Party. So great was opposition of the African people in Southern Rhodesia, indeed, that the Federal Chief Justice, Sir Robert Tredgold, resigned in protest against Whitehead's panic emergency legislation.

†The separate report, *Survey of Developments Since 1953*, prepared by Federation Officials, and issued as an Annexe to the Commission's report, certainly provides considerable hard facts which go to challenge the protagonists of the 'economic advantages' theory. This claim is also rejected by two African members of the Commission, W. M. Chirwa and H. G. Habanyama, in their Minority Report. Since they were regarded by the main African parties as 'stooges', it may be imagined what the African national organisations think of it.

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of the world, arbitrary White rule must end and some sort of agreement be reached with the leaders of the African national parties.

Clearly, the right to secede must be provided, and the separate territorial constitutions must be revised, to secure democratic government on the basis of majority rule, as the African parties demand. They are clearly determined upon democracy *now* through 'one man one vote', upon secession *now*, not in some hypothetical future. There will be some hope for peaceful development in the whole area, *if and only if* the Whites realise that it is no longer practical politics to think of maintaining White domination in Africa, and that the only question—an interesting and profoundly constructive question, vital to their futures—is how Whites can now live useful lives and make useful contributions to society in communities where political power has passed to the African majorities.*

It will be interesting to see how these African territories will develop in the direction of federation when they are masters of their own future. They may well freely federate many territories to make a huge, well-balanced economy. One thing is clear; that the Africans and not the Whites will decide what is to be done, and will do it.

*When Sir Edgar Whitehead proposed to prevent the National Democratic Party choosing to be represented at the Conference by its own president, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, he argued that Nkomo was not qualified, having been in exile for two years. Nkomo reminded Sir Edgar that he had been two years in Washington, before returning to take over the Premiership.

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ADEN: OIL OR INDEPENDENCE?

D. J. Brent

WHEN the General Assembly was forced last month to debate the U.S.S.R.'s motion for a declaration of independence for all colonial peoples, amongst those who squawked loudest was the unflappable Mr. Macmillan's UNO representative, Mr. Ormsby Gore. He claimed that Soviet charges of the barbarities of colonialism were quite out of date, repeating his master's voice, who had told the Assembly last autumn:

> For more than a century it has been our purpose to guide our dependent territories towards freedom and independence.

Mr. Macmillan, the apostle of freedom, had added:

> With our willing help the people of these countries are steadily proceeding to the goal of political independence.

Amongst those who will no doubt be pleased if somewhat surprised to learn of this noble aim of Tory policy, are the people of Aden, for example. For they have been conscious of no effort but their own to bring about their independence. This colony

> is the only available *place d'armes* from which the defence of Britain's oil supplies from the Persian Gulf can be supported.
>
> (*The Times*, April 21, 1958.)

For oil supplies read oil companies, and you have the situation in a nutshell.

Aden is ruled by a Governor with autocratic powers, but the figleaf of democracy is maintained by a Legislative Council, only half of which is elected. The elections in January, 1959, were boycotted by two thirds of those qualified to vote; the Yemenis who form a large portion of the population were not allowed to vote at all. Writing of Sir Charles Johnston, when his appointment as new Governor was announced, *The Times* noted:

> The appointment of a member of the Foreign Service to a colonial governorship is unusual, but the justification for it no doubt lies in the fact that peculiar abilities are called for in a Governor of Aden at the present time. In addition to being responsible for the constitutional progress of the colony and the surrounding protectorate states the Governor, as Commander-in-Chief, will have to preserve Aden's boundaries, against persistent attacks from over the border, and to work in close co-operation with British Forces Arabian Peninsula, whose headquarters are in Aden. Finally, the post will call for diplomatic skill of a high order in the conduct of relations with Yemen.
>
> (*The Times*, June 2, 1960.)

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Neither the peoples of the Aden Colony nor the States in the Aden Protectorates have accepted British protection or tutelage.

In 1955 a popular uprising broke out and although suppressed there remained distinct rumblings with many of the tribes. In 1956 there was a most bitterly fought general strike throughout the Colony lasting nearly two months with 210,000 working days lost. On April 15, 1958, there was a successful 24 hours' general strike, held as part of a campaign for national rights, supported by the International Federation of Arab Trade Unions. In May, 1958, the Government declared a state of emergency in the Protectorate. Serious disturbances took place on October 31, 1958, in the Crater area. The editor of *Al Amel*, the Aden Trades Union Congress newspaper, was sentenced for contempt of court: he had accused the courts and the Government department of corruption. The Aden T.U.C. retaliated by calling for another successful 24-hour strike.

The series of strikes has persisted: a total of 84 in 1959 with 148,683 man hours lost, and up to July, 1960, the figures were 34 strikes, with 128,532 days lost. The Government's reasons given for the increase are in themselves a clear indication of the strength and political understanding of the Aden trade union movement. Firstly, the refusal to accept voluntary arbitration. Here the views of Mr. T. Fallows, the Special Adviser from England, a labour relations expert appointed in February, 1960, are worth recording:

> The attitude of the Aden trades unions in respect of arbitration is not difficult to understand. The process is rejected because there is no assurance that the trade union purpose will be served and therefore they have no confidence in it. (*Industrial Legislation*, 1960, Appendix 3, paragraph 12.)

Secondly, he complained that the trades union leaders had 'favoured in industrial relations the intransigeance they have shown in politics'. The Aden T.U.C. itself 'continuously emphasises the interdependence of industrial and political actions by unions'. In 1958, he added, the leaders 'became increasingly pre-occupied with politics unrelated to the labour movement'.

Most of the strikes have affected the Port area, and ended in at least partial victory with major demands satisfied, such as the British Petroleum Company strike in 1959 which began on November 7 and ended on December 15. The Aden Government admitted

> The strike was called in furtherance of demands for improved conditions of service and lasted for 34 days (*Industrial Legislation, 1960*).

On February 1, 1960, although the B.P. Co. declared it would close

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down if they did, refinery workers struck, being joined by 10,000 transport workers from March 24 to April 11. Following the report of the Special Adviser, the Government declared that it proposed introducing a Bill to impose additional restrictions on the activities of the trade unions. A general strike was called on August 4 immediately after the Bill was published.

In brief the Bill restricts the right to strike before the Courts issue a decision in the dispute. The new legislation provides of course for complete 'impartiality'; the simplicity with which this is achieved is truly remarkable and will no doubt endear itself to Aden trade unionists and workers about as much as similar compulsory arbitration was welcomed by workers in this country.

> The court shall consist of a President appointed by the Governor . . . (who) may appoint assessors . . . as he thinks fit . . . provided that the question of making any award . . . shall be decided by the President alone.

Despite the total and complete opposition to the Bill, it was passed on August 16, and following threats and reprisals by the Government, the strike was called off two days later. But immediately the Government revoked the licence of the unions' newspaper *Al Amel* the following day. (As an act of good faith no doubt, or perhaps to ensure impartiality for the Bill, which is also clearly aimed at the nationalist movement led by the Aden T.U.C.) Even in the hand-picked and boycotted Legislative Council itself the demand was voiced that 'The wish of the people of Aden to rule themselves and their demand for full independence within two years' be conveyed to H.M. Government. But this demand was sidetracked into a virtual vote of confidence in the colony's government. Shades of Westminster!

The importance of Aden for the area is seen in the despatch of a squadron of Centurion tanks 'to create a small strategic reserve of armour East of Suez', and the building of a new military base at Bir Fadhle to hold 2,000 fully equipped troops. What of British imperialism's activities in the rest of the 'Arab South'?

To counteract the growing strength of Arab nationalism and the struggle for independence in the Aden Protectorates, the Tory Government tried for years to foist on the sheikhdoms a plan for Arabian Federation. This would have given Britain more effective control over them than she already has by way of the 'Protectorates'. By alternating bribes, threats and cunning, and by the deposition and exile of the Sultan of Lahej, the leader of the opposition, the plan finally succeeded. Six of the eighteen Western Aden Protectorates States were 'induced' to form the Federation of Arab Amirates of

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the South, inaugurated on February 11, 1959. It means

> an extension of British influence and it is hoped the strengthening of a political foothold which is being increasingly menaced by the rising tide of Arab nationalism. (*Economist*, May 2, 1959.)

In the same article the *Economist*, reviewing a recent book by the former Governor of Aden, writes:

> Sir Tom Hickinbothom makes it clear that he anticipates the ultimate emergence of a federated state within the Commonwealth; this is to serve as a buffer between the Arab world and the politico-military centre which has been set up in the colony of Aden with the purpose of safeguarding British interests in Arabian oil.

So much for the intentions, whatever the declarations of British colonialism. Hence the recent aforementioned despatch of Centurion tanks and building of a new military base at Bir Fadhle.

But for the 'Arab South' with the rising tide of Arab nationalism and events in Africa showing the way, the goal of freedom and independence is not far off. Our task in this country is to help them to achieve it. We can do so by an understanding and exposure of the Tories' real aims and colonial policy in the Middle East, in Africa, and all of Britain's colonial possessions.

THE HUNDRED MEN OF HASWELL

[*In 1844 a hundred men lost their lives in the coal-pits at Haswell, Co. Durham. The verdict was, 'Visitation of God'. This poem by Georg Weerth was translated by Laura Lafargue, daughter of Karl Marx, and appeared in* The Commonweal, *March 15, 1890.*]

The hundred men of Haswell,
They all died on the same day;
They all died in the same hour;
They all went the self-same way.

And when they all were buried,
Came a hundred women, lo,
A hundred women of Haswell,
It was a sight of woe!

With all their children came they,
With daughter and with son:
'Now, thou rich man of Haswell,
Give her wage to every one!'

By that rich man of Haswell
Not long were they denied;
A full week's wage he paid them
For every man who died.

And when that wage was given,
His chest fast locked up he:
The iron lock clicked sharply,
The women wept bitterly.

[GEORG WEERTH, translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.]

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ART NO LUXURY

Ralph Bond *

WHAT trade unionist could oppose a proposal that the movement should participate more fully in all cultural activities? At first glance it might seem inconceivable that any would want to. Yet when such a resolution was moved at the Trades Union Congress last autumn the platform opposed it. But it was a reflection of the generally forward-looking mood of Congress that this resolution secured the support of all the major delegations and was carried unanimously, despite the opposition of the platform.

The fact has to be faced that there are many misconceptions and often a feeling of mistrust whenever the words 'art' and 'culture' are mentioned in workers' meetings.

The resolution which I moved on behalf of my union ran as follows:

> Congress recognises the importance of the arts in the life of the community especially now when many unions are securing a shorter working week and greater leisure time for their members. It notes that the trade union movement has participated to only a small extent in the direct promotion and encouragement of plays, films, music, literature and other forms of expression including those of value to its beliefs and principles.
>
> Congress considers that much more could be done and accordingly requests the General Council to conduct a special examination and to make proposals to a future Congress to ensure a greater participation by the trade union movement in all cultural activities.

In introducing it I reminded delegates that the Labour Movement was created to ensure that all the people—not just a privileged few—have the chance to enjoy the good things of life: not only material things but the beauty and riches of life in all its forms. The only way any approach can be made is to start from the absolute first principle that art is not a segment of life but an integral part.

The moment there is any suggestion that art and culture are 'overtones' or 'extras' to the normal everyday struggle for economic survival under capitalist society, reactionary conceptions must set in. It is precisely this idea of art being a luxury divorced from everyday experience that creates the theory of antagonism between a so-called 'intelligentsia' and the mass of the people. The Tory mind automatically and instinctively accepts such a theory because it fits in with

*Mr. Bond, as many of our readers will know, is an executive member of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians.

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their traditional belief in a small, superior, public-school *élite* which alone is equipped to appreciate the 'finer' things of life. This is natural, but it is no accident that the same theory is advanced, if in different words, by certain reformist trade union and Labour leaders who will give lip-service to the rights of the workers to have the best educational facilities while at the same time opposing any direct participation by the labour movement in artistic and cultural activities.

An example of this is the speech of Mr. W. B. Beard (United Patternmakers' Association, and T.U.C. General Council) against the A.C.T.T. resolution at the Douglas Congress:

> It has been the view of Congress over the years that the promotion and encouragement of the arts is primarily a responsibility of the community acting through central and local authorities, and this view has been derived from the circumstances that in this country appreciation and participation in the arts have been obtained through voluntary organisations.

After mentioning some of these voluntary organisations, Mr. Beard went on to say:

> I feel I must question whether there is not a danger of a further organisation dealing with the arts which may be the rival of the facilities that are already there.

The W.E.A., he added, would be prepared *to look* at any kind of class that was *required* by the workers! (my italics).

Wilfred Beard is a very important person. He is in charge of all T.U.C. educational activities and is its representative on the Independent Television Authority. Yet he has completely failed to grasp the leading role that the trade unions should and could play in the promotion and encouragement of the arts. His attitude is that if the workers 'want' culture there are places where they can go and get it —just as there are shops if you want bacon or pubs if you want beer. He not only ignores the present cultural work of such organisations as the South Wales Miners with their enormously popular annual festival of music and song, literature and poetry; he not only forgets the activities of such bodies as the old labour London Dramatic Federation (Vice-President J. R. Clynes, Secretary Herbert Morrison) which presented plays to the labour movement as far back as 1926, but he completely overlooks the vital necessity of the trade unions expanding their activities in new directions if they are to attract the young people.

Bill Whitehead, President of the South Wales area of the National Union of Mineworkers, put the question quite bluntly:

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> If we insist that our people must be educated, if we insist they must have the opportunities in life, we must put before them . . . these things which are the best in life in music, literature and art.

William Morris had already posed the same question in his lecture *The Beauty of Life* (1880)

> That education does not end when people leave school is now a mere commonplace, and how then can you really educate men who lead a life of machines, who only think for the few hours during which they are not at work, who, in short, spend almost their whole lives doing work which is not proper for developing them in body and mind in some worthy way? You cannot educate, you cannot civilise men unless you give them a share in art.

William Morris went on to say:

> The lack of art, or rather the murder of art that curses our streets from the sordidness of the surroundings of the lower classes has its exact counterpart in the dullness and vulgarity of those of the middle classes, and the double-distilled dullness and scarcely less vulgarity of those of the upper classes. On the one hand the mass of the people are deprived of any semblance of beauty and completely cut off from art, and on the other, the 'chosen, upper' classes begin to look on art as an amusement, at best a trifle.

This is still fundamentally true some eighty years after Morris wrote, and it would be folly to imagine that a Tory government has the slightest intention of doing anything about it. The present Government has just given a small increase to the Arts Council, bringing its annual grant up to £1,500,000. The nation's total defence expenditure is £1,500,000,000 annually. In other words for every pound spent on 'defence' the Arts Council receives one farthing. This is the measure of our civilisation under the Tories, and we can expect no better, but it is not to say that the pressures should not be maintained, both on the central government and the municipalities. With the example of Coventry's Belgrade Theatre before us we should strive to get other local authorities to exercise the powers they already possess.

What is most urgently needed now, above all, is a realisation that the great democratic industrial and political organisations of the working class need to play an imaginative and positive part in a cultural revival which will open up new possibilities for the theatre, for music and literature, for films and the graphic arts.

It is not the purpose of this article to forecast the detailed proposals which will be put before the General Council of the T.U.C. which now has the responsibility of examining the whole field and reporting to a future Congress. Many suggestions have been made

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by individuals like Arnold Wesker, ranging from a Festival of the Arts to coincide with the next T.U.C. Congress, to the building of new theatres in industrial centres, trade union sponsorship of films, a trade union publishing house, the sponsoring of a national trade union orchestra, the commissioning of works of art for trade union offices, grants to assist members' children who show talent in any artistic sphere, and so on. Arguments can be found (and no doubt will) to dismiss every one of these ideas as Utopian, impractical or financially impossible. The people who affirm that the T.U.C. and the Labour Party cannot sustain a daily newspaper are hardly likely to show much enthusiasm.

We should not be discouraged by the philistines. There are hundreds of trade union branches, district committees, executive committees and trades councils who will welcome the T.U.C. resolution, and who will expect the General Council to give a comprehensive statement on what can be done. For the thousands of active trade unionists keenly interested in this question, there is no need to wait until next Congress. The issues can be raised now in every trade union. To use a phrase beloved by politicians, 'a climate of opinion' needs to be created. There is much that individual unions can do on their own initiative once the understanding is there.

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VIEWS OF THE WORLD

German Youth and Peace

I HAD the opportunity this year of meeting many young Germans; and one of my strongest impressions was that here too it is the young people who are to the fore in the peace movement. This is true of young people both in Western Germany and, as I could see at first hand, in the German Democratic Republic.

But there is a difference: in the one part of divided Germany, young people keen on peace are confronted with every possible obstacle from Government and officialdom; in the other they get every possible encouragement. And that is exactly the difference between the policy and purpose of the Federal Republic and that of the Democratic Republic.

Take first Adenauer's Germany with over 400 progressive organisations made illegal whilst war criminals are set at large. Here school children are not taught the truth about the Hitler era and fascism. *The Times Educational Supplement* (September 23, 1960) wrote about West German youth that 'they form a politically immature, sceptical generation'. Yet despite that they are playing an important part in the peace movement. A good example was the march on March 5, 1960, in Bad Godesburg which called for a ban on atomic weapons and disarmament. Magazine photographs show young people everywhere in this demonstration. From the Federal Republic came a delegation to take part in the international youth and student disarmament conference in London last Easter. The West German magazine *Kongressdienst* commented: 'What has rarely happened in Germany recently took place at this Conference. Delegations from the Federal Republic and the G.D.R. sat together and with representatives from twenty-three other countries discussed peace and disarmament'. One resolution called for a stop to the production and stationing of nuclear rockets in Germany. This has recently been proposed to the United Nations by the G.D.R., as part of the aim for a Germany neutralised by 1964.

Commenting on the Fourth Federal Republic Youth Conference last year the West German educational magazine *Schule und Nation* wrote 'that the conference was of the opinion that young people in the Federal Republic could only have real confidence in their state once the warlike policies of Adenauer were replaced by disarmament, understanding and peaceful coexistence'. So strong is the movement that on April 8, 1960, prison sentences were handed out after a five month trial in Dusseldorf, to six young people charged with 'attempting to overthrow the Federal Republic by opposing atomic weapons'. A day before a West Berlin court sentenced a student, Klaus Walter to two months imprisonment for putting up a poster exposing anti-semitism. Yet Adenauer leaves untouched fascist youth groups, such as the Junge Kameradschaft (some of whose officials were directly implicated in recent anti-semitic outrages) which is sponsored by the party of the extreme right, Deutsche Reichspartei. Small wonder that numbers of young men anxious to avoid conscription into the West German army, left to live in the G.D.R. For more and more the G.D.R. stands out in contrast to the corruption in the Germany of Dr. Adenauer. Here the youth are encouraged above all to develop

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themselves in every way. Voting at 18, they can be elected to Parliament from 21. Here the slogan is 'The Government helps the youth—youth helps the Government'. A new educational system is closely linked to the peace policy, whilst the current Seven Year Plan features thousands of millions of marks for new schools and university colleges. Education in the new style was the subject of a full-length article in the September issue of *Einheit*, the theoretical journal of the Socialist Unity Party, which laid great emphasis on 'teaching the children to hate fascism and war'. After 1945 a thorough overhaul of German schooling was essential. The law on the 'Democratisation of the German Schools' came into force in 1946 and was later incorporated into the Constitution of the G.D.R., with the aim of removing all Nazi and militaristic ideas and influence.

The attitude of young people is well summed up in a letter by young apprentices, written after the recent approach by Ulbricht to Adenauer proposing disarmament and a negotiated settlement: 'Particularly we young people must be interested in a peaceful solution to the German question because we can only live and learn in Peace'. In the G.D.R., peace and socialism are the two main aims of the government; the peace movement gets every encouragement; and young people play a leading part in it. One of the most powerful organisations representing the interests of young people is the Freie Deutsche Jugend (Free German Youth). Much encouraged by its support, several all-German youth conferences have taken place. Young people are active in the National Front of Democratic Germany, uniting citizens in both parts. Its aim is peaceful unification and democratic development. Again this September, to coincide with the opening of the 15th UNO Assembly, an international youth and student forum on peaceful co-existence and disarmament, was specially organised under the auspices of the Institut für Volkerrecht at the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena. In the discussion, World Peace Council member, Dr. Steinger said, 'We will never allow the fascists and militarists once again to lead the German people and the peoples of all lands to disaster'. That is the spirit of those who work for peace today in Germany, in Britain and throughout the world.

CHARLES DUKES.

Free Enterprise Rents

I SHOULD like to thank Katherine Hood for her article 'The Rent Racket', in which she showed up the Housing Minister's double-talk. Here in Birmingham, we had recently a sample of this back and front sentence from Mr. Brooke, who said: 'If the rents asked would produce a return quite out of accord with the market value of the properties, then they would come under suspicion'. Our comment in the local press of this City of Free Enterprise was: 'We were always under the impression that if any price was asked which was out of accord with the market value of any commodity, the return would be nil'.

H. WHITEHEAD,

Secretary, Birmingham & Midland District Tenants' & Residents' Association.

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ATROCITY STORIES EXPLODED

Alan Winnington

[Ten years ago this winter there was heavy fighting in Korea. Numbers of U.S., British and other troops (sent there by an illegal decision of the United Nations Security Council) were captured. Atrocity stories about these Prisoners of War, originating in the U.S.A. and spread in Britain, have now been exploded by the U.S. authorities themselves in a book reviewed below by the distinguished British journalist who was in Korea throughout the active hostilities.—Ed.,* L.M.]

> In winter, opportunities for torture increased, and prisoners are known to have been marched barefooted on to the frozen Yalu River where water was poured over their feet. With temperatures well below 20 degrees of frost the water froze immediately and prisoners were left for hours with their feet frozen into the ice to 'reflect' on their crimes. (Ministry of Defence Blue Book: *Treatment of British Prisoners of War in Korea,* H.M.S.O., 1955.)
>
> There is no record in any of the returnees' files of the use of physical force or physical torture as a means of indoctrination . . . no prisoners were transported to Manchuria, nor were any shot or tortured if they did not co-operate at interrogations. (Colonel (now Brig. Gen.) Willis A. Perry, summarising investigations into 3,323 U.S. P.O.W.s in Korea.)

THE above two quotations are curious partly because at first it was the Americans who claimed that their P.O.W.s in Korea had been tortured, and the British said this had not happened to British P.O.W.s. But which assertion is right?

No one can deny the thoroughness of the United States bureaucracy. After the Korean war the whole history of each prisoner was examined, cross-checked and analysed. This took two years and provided over 2,000,000 pages of statements, housed in 210 feet of top-secret lockers. Eugene Kinkead was given unprecedented facilities for studying the material and interviewing the Army people who analysed it, and 'what I wrote was approved by the Department of Defense', as he says in his preface. This activity of the army had the aim of finding out why one-third of American P.O.W.s collaborated with their Korean and Chinese captors, and why 38 per cent of them (2,730 out of 7,190) died in captivity. After all this immense labour, the conclusions amount to less than was obvious to any observant person in Korea at the time.

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*Why They Collaborated, by Eugene Kinkead (Longmans. 224 pp. 21s.).

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The U.S. army states definitely that there was no 'brainwashing' and no torturing: 'severity could not have been used in dealing with the men without arousing resentment and even rebellion among them, which was exactly what the Chinese policy aimed at avoiding'. G.I.s had been convinced by their officers that capture meant torture with all the diabolical ingenuity of Fu Man-chu. 'The Chinese to our great bewilderment would greet each captive with a smile, a cigarette, and a handshake.' This 'confused our men'.

Conditions in North Korea during the first months of the war were terrible, due to American bombing. There was little to eat except millet and sometimes pickled vegetables. Poor as the food was, it was enough to sustain life. American prisoners died like winter flies (1,500 in five months) although prisoners of other nationalities survived in precisely the same conditions. Why? 'Certainly it was lack of discipline', reports U.S. Major Anderson, himself a medical man and a P.O.W. in Pyoktong for three years. Anderson at last confirms an American soldiers' disease which I reported at the time, when it seemed so incredible that many refused to believe it. Here is what the U.S. army has to say of 'give-up-itis'.

> The sufferer first became despondent; then he lay down or covered his head with a blanket; then he wanted ice water with his food; next no food, only water. . . . You could actually predict how long it would take such a man to die.

Badly wounded American captives suffered most . . . from maltreatment by their own fellow soldiers. G.I.s tried to abandon them on the road and had to be ordered by their captors to help them. 'The strong regularly took food from the weak.' Helpless dysentery cases 'whose clothes stank from their own excreta were rolled outside the huts by their comrades and left to die in the cold'. Even a little of the co-operation found among the British P.O.W.s would have saved them, as it did the British. It was said in Korea that where there were two G.I.s there was a black market. One man cornered the entire supply of sulpha drugs in a unit and made a fortune in army scrip at the cost of unknown lives: there is little doubt that he is now a business tycoon.

Kinkead quotes little from the British Blue Book. This is not surprising because its totally undocumented findings are diametrically opposite to the U.S.A. detailed survey. What was surprising was the publication of this Blue Book at all, because it flew in the face of all known facts.

When the American P.O.W.s were exchanged at Panmunjom in the autumn of 1953, a terrific rat-race of U.S. journalists began for

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atrocity stories. There was no fantasy too incredible to be put into the mouths of the bewildered G.I.s, who knew they faced weeks of 'unAmerican' investigation: but returning British P.O.W.s stolidly and almost to a man stuck to the statement that the P.O.W.s had been excellently treated by their captors. These atrocity tales were used by Washington as a means to bring pressure on the British Government which, a few months later, published the Blue Book. This turned out to be a political pamphlet directed against the peace movement and against the *Daily Worker* and its correspondents.* It is an obviously absurd document, full of bloodcurdling inventions about 'Chinese torture' and evidently knocked together for the Ministry of Defence by a not-too-clever journalist. Men made to stand for hours frozen to a river in more than 20 below apparently neither got frostbite or died. And there was the Gloucester corporal (no names no pack-drill) who was beaten for six hours with a base-ball bat and apparently lived to tell the tale. Kicking, beating, prodding with bayonets 'was the normal fate of the prisoner who steadfastly refused to co-operate'. But no British pressman had found such people at the P.O.W. exchange point.

It was quite evident in Korea that Americans died and British did not because the British were co-operative; they shared their food and drugs, sacrificed their rations for their sick comrades, looked after hygiene and, above all, were cheerful. If U.S. writers want to find a line of research, I recommend that they should start to look into the difference caused by over a century of solid, working-class, socialist tradition among the British working class. It was not surprising that young G.I.s, reared in the tradition of the greatest 'free enterprise' state should carry on its devil-take-the-hindmost tradition when they become captives.

Kinkead's book endeavours, without success, to solve the question of why one-third of the U.S. prisoners 'collaborated' with their captors. This is evaded in the Blue Book although one-third of British P.O.W.s did the same. Many 'explanations' are on offer from the U.S. army, mostly too vaguely psychological to treat seriously, though one seems partly true . . . 'some new failure in the childhood and adolescent training of our young men . . . a new softness'.

But what was evident in Korea to the troops on the ground, as to myself, was that the Korean war was not fought for the bombed

*Washington also put pressure on the British Government to refuse renewal of passports for Alan Winnington and the Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett, who had also interviewed some of the P.O.W.s for his paper. This was a flagrant denial of the freedom of the press.—ED., *L.M.*

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and napalmed Korean people but was an aggressive war by America behind their puppet Rhee and under the U.N. flag, with only token forces from other powers (and who wants to be a token?), and that its main aim was to reconquer China.

What caused the failure of morale among the 'U.N.' forces, and what was essentially a reassertion of morale on being captured, was simply human honesty and hatred of injustice. Kinkead can scarcely be blamed for not drawing this conclusion, since his book is about the conclusions from the U.S. army analysis, which were negligible. All the enquiry led to was the formulation of a Code of Conduct for G.I.s, which goes no further than stating what any soldier should do who believes in the justice of the cause for which he is fighting. 'Why They Collaborated' should nevertheless be read because it does contain many hitherto undisclosed facts—undisclosed that is except by the Left press—and it opens the curtain a little on the workings of American brass mentality. This is terrifying but salutory.

It would be interesting to know where the British Ministry of Defence now stands. First there was no torturing; then there was torturing because Washington insisted. Will they reverse their position again? I doubt it, because then the only conclusion left is that the Korean war was an aggression against the Korean and Chinese people. This is the only explanation of 'Why They Collaborated'.

BOOKS

And Now Tomorrow
Vernon Bartlett
Chatto and Windus. 255pp. 21s.

MR. BARTLETT'S latest and very readable volume of reminiscences shows that he does not like the treatment of Africans in their own country by the handful of genteel blackguards with a white skin, male and female, who rule over them and whom, by their sweat and tears, they provide with a comfortable life—but at the same time he feels that the white capitalists have been 'fulfilling an essential service', which is not over (p.113). He does not like colonialist exploitation of Malays and Chinese—but he is always ready to share in the luxuries of life with their male and female exploiters, waited on hand and foot by Malay and Chinese servants, and taking refuge in 'their cheerful and philosophical acceptance of conditions they could do so little to change' (p.193). He even persuades himself that he loves Asia 'for reasons that have little to do with materialism'. It may be recalled that Mr. Stiggins rejoiced in the temperance of his flock while drinking strong liquors for the highest motives.

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But let these Asian peoples—or Europeans, for that matter—try and strike a blow to change their conditions: ah, that is quite a different matter. They at once become 'terrorists' in Malaya (he thinks the elections now allowed there have nothing to do with the twelve years of struggle of the heroic Malayan Communists): or Chinese 'totalitarians': or African 'disgruntled politicians'. As for the Soviet Union, the first country where workers and peasants, white and brown and yellow, shook exploiters off their backs for ever (including British investors), Mr. Bartlett's oh-so-genteel, humorous, and self-deprecatory mask drops off, and his cold hatred has to be seen in print to be believed.

In his tolerant nature he finds room for admiration (in retrospect) for the young Nazis 'in the early days of the movement' (p.24), for the British Foreign Office which helped Chamberlain to hand Czechoslovakia over to Hitler (p.32), for the Tories whose remote control helped Franco and his allies, Hitler and Mussolini, to murder the Spanish Republic (p.97). And of course he has lots of sympathy for the refugees from the people's revolutions which overthrew the bloody dictatorships of a handful of luxurious gentry in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and elsewhere in eastern Europe, and from the Socialist upheaval of the Czechoslovak workers and peasants in 1948. But for the Russian people of whom 25 million had their homes destroyed by the invader and of whom 80 millions had to live for years under his heel, for the privations and the losses which they suffered in the occupied territory during the war years, for the millions of soldiers killed over that huge front in the determination to drive out and destroy the Nazis—for all these Mr. Bartlett has no word of sympathy. He speaks of them, and of the Socialist system they were defending, with fastidious disgust—'at the end of his teeth', as the French say. His chapter on his wartime visit to Russia, and indeed all his references to the Socialist countries, are an eye-opener for their spitefulness and misinformation.

The book is a useful reminder of what Liberalism is, at a time when the Liberals, encouraged by the bankruptcy of right-wing Labour leadership, have been pricking up their ears. For the working-class, the colonial and recently-colonial peoples, a Liberal politician remains a Tory who is slightly ashamed of himself—but not so much that he stops picking their pocket, or filling them with lead when they get above themselves. Asquith did that with the miners at Featherstone in 1893: and you ought to read Mr. Vernon Bartlett's description of his outing against the 'terrorists' in the Malayan jungle—especially his tribute to 'the planters whose courage and leadership maintained the flow of white latex into the little cups on the rubber trees throughout the worst days of the Emergency' (p.233-4).

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN.

Permanent Red

John Berger

Methuen. 223pp. 16s.

A READER of weekly art criticisms and lookers-in at educational T.V. will know what to expect from this book of 'Essays in Seeing'. They will therefore approach it with delight. They will not be disappointed. A good deal of its contents, the author tells us, has already been published, but it is not a 'collection',

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it is matter pared and arranged to present a continuous thesis. The modest purpose, understated, is to give readers some idea of the meaning of culture and the potentialities of criticism. This object is certainly achieved. Berger's own approach is the materialist one—that all art is a communication, and that even when the artist's direct purpose is not representational, or in those aspects of his work that are not, his way of seeing and doing leaves something to be inferred and learned about himself and the society of his time. Thus, in Berger's hands, criticism has all the fascination of a detective story and its fruits, for study of the world around us and the history that underlies and has informed this, the usefulness of the News of the World.

Berger is extremely easy to read or listen to and he packs an amazing amount into small compass. The scope is enormous: What is an artist? Drawing as the basis of art. The difficulty of being an artist, with sideglances at the Academy, the Bienniale, the galleries, the plight of the student, and beyond Bond Street. Separate comments on twenty-one twentieth century artists classified as 'Masters' (such as Leger, Picasso, Matisse), 'Artists who struggle' (including Moore, Herman and Bomberg) and 'Artists defeated by the difficulties' (including Klee, Dubuffet and Bratby). The sub-heads of his chapter 'Lessons of the Past' are themselves a manifesto: The clarity of the Renaissance. The calculations of Piero. The sweet power of fashion. Poussin's order. Watteau as the painter of his time. The potboiler. The honesty of Goya. The dilemma of the Romantics. Millet and labour. The Victorian conscience. The politics of Courbet. Renoir and the aftermath. Gauguin's crime. Added to all this as bonus are 'definitions' of such aspects as: Realism, Content and subject matter, Formalism. A feast in parvo. And not one in which the nourishment becomes unappetising as a result of compression, as in pemmican or pills for space travellers. Rather is it a concentration of the flavours that such pills, or 'digests', invariably lose. Not infrequently I do not know the artist, or at least the work, of which Berger writes. But I never read what he has written without wanting to see the work, and increasing my sensibility toward it when I do. Can praise be higher?

IVOR MONTAGU.

Britain's Transport Crisis

Geoffrey Wilson, M.P.

Arthur Barker Ltd., 24 pp. 1s.

Britain's Transport Crisis

Ernest Davies.

Arthur Barker Ltd., 32 pp. 1s.

THE CRISIS in transport is the subject of two pamphlets published by the Road and Rail Association. Mr. Geoffrey Wilson, M.P., chairman of the Conservative Transport Committee in the present House, and Mr. Ernest Davies, one time Labour's spokesman in the House on transport affairs, are the authors. Mr. Wilson, no doubt with one eye on his party responsibilities, looks the problem firmly in the eye and turns his back upon it. His summing up is that 'We are not prepared to accept full scale direction and control. Half measures of integration will not do. . . . We want freedom to travel as, when and how we please, but we expect there to be public services which we can use when we don't want to use our own vehicles.' This is the basis for his

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conclusion that 'only an empirical approach is possible'; and his suggestions for 'reasonable co-ordination between road and rail'; to 'build as many roads as we can afford, encourage the railways to relieve the traffic on them by efficient competition.' He does agree to pay for particular necessary, though uneconomic, public services 'as taxpayers' or 'by tax remissions.' Whatever the merit of such measures, they can hardly solve the present crisis, because they leave intact the exploiting interests for whom transport, private or national, is just a means to private profit.

Mr. Davies makes a serious analysis and proposes some drastic changes. He wants single planned direction of road and rail, including further limitation on road vehicles through changes in the licensing system. He wants new financial measures including the reconstruction of the capital structure of the Transport Commission, the state taking full responsibility for capital and interest, the present indebtedness being waived, and road passenger services exempt from fuel tax. These proposals are a positive contribution to the discussion on a policy which would make our transport serve the nation and not the big vested and financial interests, even while capitalism continues.

That would be a step towards the Socialist solution, which would cut through the dilemma which foxes Mr. Wilson and solve the technical problems Mr. Davies deals with, because Socialism would cut out the payment of interest on private capital and through its national economic plan produce a predictable demand on transport and the means of meeting it.

JOHN MAHON.

An Epic of Clare Market

Janet Beveridge

G. Bell & Sons. 98pp. 15s.

SHAW warned Webb. A £10,000 legacy had come to the Fabian Society and Webb proposed to use it to start an *impartial* 'school of economics'. Webb justified himself by a typical piece of Haldane lawyerism. But Shaw said it must be declared that 'the School of Economics will have a Collectivist basis'. This is pleasantly written by one

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who, in the 'twenties, as secretary often seemed to humbler students to *be* the London School of Economics, of the L.S.E. from its origins in the 'nineties up to the end of World War I. It is a variation on the theme of 'in my end is my beginning'. For 'impartiality' won—'nothing of a socialist tendency would be introduced', said the first Director. In spite of occasional breaks, it never was, though Tory propagandists, who never needed lessons in the Big Lie technique, found it a useful bogey. Tawney, who played a big part later in trying to check the inroads of usury on scholarship, once proclaimed that his supporters were gentlemen. But the bankers won.

J.W.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

Nationalised Industry and Public Ownership. Wm. A. Robson. Allen and Unwin Ltd. 544 pp. 50s.
Disarmament and the American Economy. Herbert Aptheker. New Century Publishers Ltd. 64 pp. 75 cents.
Labour Protection in New China. Labour Protection Bureau. Foreign Languages Press, Peking. 96 pp.
When Serfs Stood Up in Tibet. Anna Louise Strong. New World Press, Peking. 326 pp.
The Hidden Persuaders. Vance Packard. Penguin Books. 216 pp. 2s. 6d.
World Events (Annual Register). Penguin Books. 614 pp. 10s.
The Essential Left. Marx, Engels, Lenin. Unwin Books. 256 pp. 7s. 6d.
The Vakhtangov School of Stage Art. Nikolai Gorchakov. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books. 206 pp. 17s. 6d.
The Colonial Era. Herbert Aptheker. Lawrence and Wishart. 158 pp. 21s.
Training of Scientists in the Soviet Union. K. Galkin. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books. 204 pp. 6s.
Prison Diary and Letters. Felix Dzerzhinsky. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books. 306 pp. 6s.
Moscow Theatres. V. Komissarzhevsky. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books. 220 pp. 12s. 6d.
Must Labour Lose? Mark Abrams and Richard Rose. Penguin Books. 128 pp. 2s. 6d.
The Organisation Man. William H. Whyte. Penguin Books. 394 pp. 3s. 6d.
Queen Elizabeth I. J. E. Neale. Penguin Books. 414 pp. 5s.
The Gathering Storm. Winston S. Churchill. Penguin Books. 734 pp. 7s. 6d.
Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities. Piero Sraffa. Cambridge University Press. 100 pp. 12s. 6d.
A Prospect for Peace. J. D. Bernal. Lawrence & Wishart. 80 pp. 3s. 6d.
Economic and Financial Aspects of Social Security. J. Henry Richardson. George Allen & Unwin. 270 pp. 30s.
Trade Unions and the Government. V. L. Allen. Longmans. 326 pp. 35s.
America the Vincible. Emmett John Hughes. Penguin Special. 284 pp. 3s. 6d.
A History of Modern Japan. Richard Storry. Pelican Books. 287 pp. 4s.
Harvest. Yeh Tzu. Foreign Languages Press. Peking. 186 pp.
A Short History of Bulgaria. Stanley G. Evans. Lawrence & Wishart. 254 pp. 18s. 6d.
British Labour and Public Ownership. Herbert E. Weiner. Stevens & Son. 112 pp. 25s.
The German Menace: A Damning Exposure. John Gollan. Communist Party. 8 pp. 3d.
Criminals on the Bench. The Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters. Orbis. Prague. 138 pp.
300 Questions: 300 Answers. Committee for German Unity, G.D.R. 232 pp.
Studies in Unemployment. Special Committee on Unemployment Problems. United States Senate. 432 pp. $1.50.
Imperialism and Social Reform. Bernard Semmel. George Allen & Unwin. 276 pp. 28s.
A Bundle of Sensations. Goronwy Rees. Chatto & Windus. 240 pp. 21s.
The True Face of Duplessis. Pierre Laporte. Harvest House, Montreal. 140 pp. $1.60.
A History of Socialist Thought. Vol. V: Socialism and Fascism. G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan. 352 pp. 35s.
India and Lenin. Edited by Anand Gupta. New Literature, New Delhi. 96 pp. Rs. 3.00.
History of A.E.S.D. J. Mortimer. A.E.S.D. and McGibbon & Kee. 489 pp. 37s. 6d.
Tomorrow is Now. Ernest Borneman. Neville Spearman Ltd., London. 200 pp. 15s.

BOOKLETS

Housing—A Co-operative Approach. Co-operative Union. 30 pp. 1s.
Higher Education in the Nuclear Age: A Communist Plan. Communist Party. C.P. 24 pp. 1s.
Soviet Planet Into Space. Soviet Booklet No. 48. Soviet News. 42 pp. 1s.
Chekhov: An Appreciation. Z. Paperny. New Literature, New Delhi, and Lawrence & Wishart, 23 pp.

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(Continued from page ii of cover)

Year issue'. It is the spirit of thousands of readers like this which will confront the Tories with the final take-over bid of which they live in chronic terror! A regular fund supporter suggests that every reader might give L.M. 'a packet of fags', adding slyly as he encloses his monthly 10s.: 'Personally I can't afford to smoke!' I have just worked out that if every reader put one cigarette aside for us each week from now until July 1, we should be about £1,000 to the good: make it a glass of beer and we could come out in half a dozen colours!

Returning to sober reality, I have been studying results of our circularising organisations about our important current series of articles *Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties*. As a direct result of a modest circularisation L.M. has been put into the hands of over 2,000 readers who would otherwise not have seen it. So far articles received for publication have come from the general secretary or president of nine trade unions (two of them members of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress) and three leading shop stewards or executive members. This is a serious, constructive discussion about real problems, by men who know what they are talking about (whether you agree with all they say or not) with years of tough experience. There is one point on which they are unanimous, and it is the reason we opened the discussion series: to seek ways to strengthen the whole movement, in every section, industrially and politically, to meet present day and future needs in the struggles which confront us.

How can readers help to strengthen the series and to extend its influence? See that the articles are widely read and discussed. Write and tell us your views of it and the problems raised. Raise it in your organisation and let us know if you want us to send a descriptive circular.

Whilst on the subject, some greetings from trade unionists in Australia, including a trades and labour council, and from the secretary of an important building trade union. He writes that when he put a letter from us, with a copy of L.M. before his committee 'upon which there are several Englishmen who have arrived here in recent years, I was surprised at the warmth of the reception it received', and he was instructed to take out four subscriptions for the union itself. A Happy New Year to them, and to you all, old and new readers!

November donations totalled:

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